

SOME ASPECTS OF THE
PHONOLOGY OF
NEWFOUNDLAND MICMAC

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

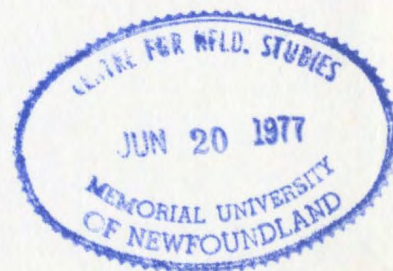
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SOME ASPECTS OF THE
PHONOLOGY OF NEWFOUNDLAND MICMAC

By



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ABSTRACT

We have made an attempt in this paper to provide a concise description of some aspects of the phonology of Newfoundland Micmac, in particular those aspects as yet unsettled.

We give first a brief introduction to the Micmacs in Newfoundland themselves as a prelude to the study of their language. Immediately following we have discussed the present phonological situation of the Micmac language in Newfoundland.

We proceed to those specific aspects dealt with in this paper beginning with a description of the consonantal system. In the course of this description we discuss several problems and, in summing our conclusions, we suggest resolutions to such issues, among them the problem of "long" versus geminated liquids before liquids and the necessity of a separate phoneme, /q/, to account for the many variants of the velar plosives and fricatives found in our data.

An examination of the vowel phonemes follows, notably of the short vowels and their allophones. As well, mention is made of the status of /w/ and /y/ with reference to the vowels.

We proceed then to the prosodics of Newfoundland Micmac with a description of stress, intonation and pitch and their relative importance in the language.

The final part of this paper contains our conclusions on the phonological system of Newfoundland Micmac. Other

avenues of study are suggested and emphasis is given to the need for immediate gathering of linguistic data before the complete disappearance of reliable sources of such information.

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INTRODUCTION

100 This paper attempts to give as complete a phonetic analysis of Newfoundland Micmac as present knowledge and investigation allows.

Micmac is an Eastern Algonkian language spoken by members of the tribe living in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, north-eastern New Brunswick, the Gaspé Peninsula and Newfoundland.¹ Among other north-eastern Algonkian languages Micmac stands out by virtue of its apparent linguistic differences and innovations in vocabulary which give the total effect of its being more divergent than Abenaki, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy or Penobscot. However, many of the differences are superficial in nature, especially phonetically, and after some historical study can, for the most part, be placed in true perspective in relation to the rest of Algonkian, past and present.²

Nevertheless, considerable alteration has occurred in many Micmac words from the parent Proto-Algonkian.³ A short list of Cree - Micmac cognates serve to illustrate the differences:

Cree - Micmac Cognates

Proto-Algonkian	Cree	Micmac	
*awanw ⁴	awan ⁴	u'n ⁴	<u>fog</u>
*alenyiwa ⁵	iyiniw ⁵	alnu ⁶	<u>man, Indian</u>
*ke- ⁵	ki- ⁷	ak- ⁶	<u>thy</u>
*siipiiwi ⁵	siiply ⁷	sipu ⁶	<u>river</u>
*waapaqemwa ⁵	waapastim ⁵	-wopsam ⁸	<u>white dog</u>

2...
Non-cognate words abound and show even more divergence.⁹

Non-Cognate Words

Proto-Algonkian

*atehkwa

*ameukwa

*eekwe-wa

*mo'swa

*na'pe-wa

*wi:la

Micmac

qalipu caribou

kopit beaver

e'pit woman

t'iyam moose

či'nam man, male

nekam he

Many of these innovations in vocabulary are shared with other north-eastern Algonkian languages; e.g. Maliseet nekam he, she.¹⁰

110 The basis of this phonological study is the Micmac as spoken in the province of Newfoundland and in particular the dialect as found at Conne River in the Bay D'Espoir area. The data, for the most part,¹¹ are taken from over two hundred and eighty-five hand-written pages of transcriptions representing approximately thirty hours of taped interviews with two senior members of the Conne River community, Matthew Jeddore and his brother the late Paul Nicholas Jeddore.¹² The more useful and recent data have been obtained from the recorded speech of Matthew Jeddore who was born at Conne River before the turn of this century, is fluent in English as well as in his native tongue and as an informant was as alert and aware as a much younger man. It should be noted that the brevity of this present study is in no way related to the quantity of transcribing

and analysing that made it possible.

120 Apart from the above data sources, other sources of reference were consulted. In considering the works of Pacifique¹³ and Rand⁸ we must tread the uncertain middle path between underdifferentiated and overdifferentiated spellings. Pacifique seldom marks vowel length; his letter o can represent any one of the five Micmac phonemes /o, o·, u, u·, w/. His use of diacritics to denote separate phonemes is sometimes inconsistent with data obtained from our Conne River informants. Rand, on the other hand, overdifferentiates voiced and unvoiced variants thus leading us to consider, quite mistakenly, that voicing is phonemic in this language. However, Rand's vowels are relatively more consistent than those of Pacifique; e.g. schwa is spelled ũ, our phonemes are closely approximated by his vowel distinctions but for the notable exception of his a, aa, ā, a, õ which do not readily correspond to any specific phonemes of the Conne River dialect.

Where reference to either Pacifique or Rand is made the peculiarities of each are taken into consideration.

Few other early works on the Micmac language can be cited for reference; the missionary Biard in his Relations of 1616 gives an account of Micmac customs.¹⁴ Nova Francia quotes numerals from about 1610.¹⁵ After 1760 the Abbé Maillard produced a Micmac grammar as well as a treatise on their social system.¹⁶ Several Maillard manuscripts lie in the Archives of the Séminaire de Québec, and of the Archdiocese of Québec.

4.

130 It is only with the recent revival of interest in our national and ethnic heritage that serious attempts have again been made to record, perhaps for the last time, the language and customs of our native peoples. At the time of writing the native people of Conne River are being made aware of their, mostly lost, heritage as well as their rights as Amerindians. This is coming about as a result of efforts from both within and without as several understanding individuals try to preserve what remains of a culture that had survived several thousand years of development but which could not withstand two hundred years of association with the white man's society.

140 The Conne River Micmacs are descendants of a group or of groups that crossed the intervening sea from Cape Breton as early as the 1760's in search of better hunting or seclusion from interference by whites. The Micmacs of Nova Scotia figured significantly in the earlier hostilities between the French and the English, always being found as allies of the former. Some attribute the French attitude toward Amerindians generally as being a factor in the sometimes close French-Amerindian association.¹⁷ It is said that in the latter part of the 1700's a group came from Cape Breton to live in the Bay St. George area of Newfoundland's west coast as a result of a treaty with a beleaguered British commander.¹⁸ After the fall of Louisbourg, during 1764-65 numbers of Micmacs and Acadians alike emigrated to the French possessions off Newfoundland's

south coast, St. Pierre and Miquelon. This was apparently the intended destination of about two hundred Micmacs who landed in Bay D'Espoir in the latter part of 1765, an event that greatly disturbed the Newfoundland-authorities who suspected a plot instigated by the French to regain lost territory. More likely is it that French political strategy held less of an attraction than did the hunting-grounds in the island's interior.¹⁹ In any case, the French governor of the French islands had already been given instructions from France that the Micmacs were not to be allowed to settle there.²⁰

Most of the Micmacs in Bay D'Espoir remained and in 1872 a so-called "reservation" was laid off at Conne River for their descendants still living in that area by a Geological Surveyor of the Newfoundland colony.²¹ However, the legal technicalities were not concluded to establish a reserve.

150 Today the Micmacs of the Bay St. George area have for all purposes disappeared among the English and French elements. Due to lack of restrictions, white settlers have moved the forty miles up to the Head of Bay D'Espoir and into villages like Conne River. Through mixed marriages and religious dominance the Micmacs of Conne River are neither racially pure nor linguistically obvious and are culturally non-existent, fast approaching the situation already prevailing at Bay St. George. Only the older members of the community remember anything of the older ways and only

those speak the language at Conne River.

A graphic picture of the Head of the Bay area is given by the well-known author, Farley Mowat, whose descriptive abilities I will not attempt to surpass:

"And this was truly Bay Despair; Here in the depressed villages of Milltown, St. Alban's, Morristown (sic) were the descendants of the sea-dwellers, lured to these sad places decades ago by the labour recruiters of an international pulp and paper company which needed cheap labour in the woods. When the cream of the pulpwood had been cut, the company pulled out without a thought for the dislocated lives it was leaving behind...The story of the manipulation of simple people, and the rape of the land itself, by men devoid of conscience."

And of Conne River itself...

"...a vivid but heart-breaking glimpse into an older world and, it may well be, a better one than ours."²²

CONSONANTS

200 The following is a discussion of the consonant phonemes of the Conne River dialect of Newfoundland Micmac in geminated and non-geminated position. Hereafter, this dialect will be referred to as Newfoundland Micmac or NM, there being no other contestant for that distinction.

210 The consonant phonemes of Newfoundland Micmac comprise four plosives, one affricate, one fricative, two nasals and one lateral liquid. For the purpose of this discussion both nasal and lateral phonemes will be referred to as liquids. The glides are included in the table below merely to show the relative positions of these semi-vowels with the consonants.

Employing five articulatory zones, labial, alveolar, alveopalatal, velar and postvelar, we arrive at the consonant table as follows:

Table of Consonant and Glide Phonemes

p	t	k	q
	č		
	s		
m	n		
	l		
w	y		

211 The problems confronted during research into the nature of the consonant phonemes have resulted in the particular order of their presentation which follows.

That is to say, the plosives /k/ and /q/ are examined together because of the importance in NM of recognizing each as a separate phoneme requiring minimal contrast despite a peculiar relationship exhibited by the environment of each.

Since we do not consider the glide phonemes as consonants we will consider them in a separate section. Consonant clusters will be dealt with at the end of this section.

212 The consonant phonemes generally exhibit consistent characteristics. The pattern of voicing with regard to plosives, fricatives and affricates is similar. All single consonants may be found in any position in a word and geminates or clusters include occurrences of nearly all consonant phonemes at one time or another.

213 Initially and finally phonemes of the categories plosive, affricate and fricative are normally unvoiced but are voiced intervocally. Exceptions to this pattern are not frequent and may be explained by other phonetic factors in the environment. For example, in the stream of speech we get voicing of initial plosives and fricatives as in:

kesi piley	[kezi bi:ley]	<u>it's very new</u>
kesi kelu:lk	[kezi gelu:lk]	<u>it's very good</u>
na.to qoqəwey	[na.do ɣoɣəwey]	<u>something</u>

Voicing also occurs initially and finally under the influence of incontiguous assimilation:

papit [babɪt] he plays, has fun
 tetuɕikiskuk [dɛduɕikiskuk] during the day
 nepat [nebad] he sleeps
 ketante·ket [gɛdan'te·gɛt] he hunts

Assimilation of this kind must be viewed as a tendency only rather than a rule since there are exceptions;

pitaq [pɪdax] tall.

Long vowels may also tend to influence voicing as shown by these examples:

ka·t [ka·d] eel
 qalipu·k [halibu·g] caribou, pl.
 puna·mweyku·s [puna·mweygu·z] January

Still others are obviously influenced by English pronunciation;

kupɛlnowɛl [gubɛlnowɛl] government

220 The following is an examination of the normal occurrences of consonant phonemes in non-geminate positions in Newfoundland Micmac.

221 The phoneme /p/ is a bilabial plosive, unvoiced initially and finally for the most part but voiced intervocalically.

Initially:

pɛleku [pɛlegu] nail
 punaɕo·tk [punaɕo·tk] he leaves it alone
 pitaq [pɪdax] tall, long
 pa·qəmikek [pa·yəmigeɕk] field

Finally:

ap [ap] again
 sisip [sɪzɪp] bird

ntəp [ŋʔtəp] my brain

ni,tap [nidap] my husband, boyfriend, buddy

Intervocally: a·pɪ [a·bɪ] net

čɪpatk [čibatk] he fears it

nɪpɪt [nɪbɪt] my tooth

ta·pu [ta·bu] two

222 The phoneme /t/ is an alveolar plosive, unvoiced initially and finally but voiced intervocally.

Initially: təkiku·s [təgigu·z] November

təmaqən [təməyən] pipe

tapsun [tapsun] clothes

tɪya·m [tɪya·m] moose

Finally: wellpot [weɪrbot] boat

ačiyet [a]iyet] hour

mset [mʔset] all, every

kelu·sit [kelu·zɪt] she is pretty

Intervocally: wi·katikən [wi·gadɪgən] book

uta·n [uda·n] village

nemitan [nəmɪdan] you can see

nasa·toq [naza·dox] he puts it on

230 The phoneme /k/ is a velar plosive occurring initially and finally in an unvoiced form and intervocally in a voiced form.

Initially: kelɪtaw [kəlɪdaw] raspberry

kɪkpəsəq [kɪkpɛzəx] it rains

kelu·lk [kəlu·lk] it's good

kɪ·kəm [kɪ·gəm] thy friend

Finally: tɛlsək [tɛlsək] he whittles it
 əkta·nuk [əkta·nuk] out in the ocean
 pɛlamo·h [pɛlamo·k] salmon, pl.
 apəča·sɪk [apəja·zik] it returns
 Intervocally: kisikū·k [kizigu·k] old people
 č̌i:kač̌əl [č̌i:ga]əl] he scrapes him
 puksukul [puksugul] wood, firewood
 tɛma·kittoq [tɛma·gittɔx] he saws it down, off

231 The articulatory area covered by the phoneme /q/ includes both postvelar plosive and velar fricative variants. Initially we frequently find it to be a plosive as in qoqəwey [qoqəwey] what and in qā·qākwec [qā·Qəgweč] crow. Also initially, there are occurrences of [h] as in qallpu [halibu] caribou. Intervocally this phoneme is normally a fricative but is occasionally heard in this position as a voiced postvelar plosive [Q], when preceded by a long back vowel. Finally the phoneme appears as a fricative.

Normally this phoneme is heard unvoiced initially and finally and voiced in intervocalic position.

Initially: qasewo·kw [qasewo·kw] iron
 qāqsit [qaxsɪt] he burns
 qā·qən [qā·Qən] doorway
 qoqwa·toq [qoxqwa·dɔx] he grabs it
 Finally: nɛmitoq [nɛmɪdɔx] he sees it
 pɪtaq [pɪdax] it is long
 kɛlitaq [kɛlɪdax] raspberries
 ɛla·kittoq [ɛla·gittɔx] he saws it

Intervocally: 'inaqən [inaʔən] right hand
 maqəksit. [maʔəksit] he is big around
 əqəun. [əʔəun] thy heel
 po.qən [po.qən] bed

232 Examples of [h] occurring in initial position are as follow:

qapsku.l [həpsku.l] rapids
 qosi [hosi] fingernail
 qospəm [hospəm] lake

No examples of [h] occurring word finally have been obtained. However, at least one example of this allophone as part of a consonant cluster has been found; it varies freely with [q]:

nəttew [nʔəttew] ~ [nʔqəttew] he will leave

The lack of sufficient examples with [h] does not permit rigorous conclusions as to the conditioning factors responsible for its occurrence. That some free variation occurs in initial position with [q] is the strongest suggestion of allophonic status:

[həlibu] ~ [qəlibu] caribou
 [hospəm] ~ [qospəm] lake
 [hosi] ~ [qosi] nail

233 The high front vowel phonemes have no examples of occurrence before postvelar /q/ in NM, whereas, in contrast, such vowels are found before /k/. Because of this distribution it would appear at first sight that there is evidence to show that the phoneme /k/ is comprised of the allophones

[k g q Q x ʎ h] or something similar. However, the evidence shows conclusively that the phoneme /q/ is indeed distinct from the phoneme /k/.

The following are phonetically contrastive pairs for the phonemes /k/ and /q/.

pe.skək he shoots it; wisqək it is sour

laka.p cellar; maqa.q it is big

lakolet cord of wood; maqoksit he is big-around

kesinukwat he is sick; samuqwan water

npitanəkəm my arm; noqəmkina.q sugar

akəlašiye.w Englishman; npaqəm my back

newktakik dollar; wənaqiyet he jumps

ewo.kəma.tičik they are cousins; wa.so.qənmaqən lamp

təma.kipulačəl he saws him off, down; toqwa:qiku:ə November

makasan shop; na.taqaama.sit he comes ashore

sewisto.kət he breaks on the rocks (boat); pə.qən bed

240 The phoneme /s/ is an alveolar fricative, normally unvoiced initially and finally but voiced intervocalically.

Initially: sipu [sibu] river

seɾamipi [sədamibi] stern oar

sapo.nuk [sabo.nuk] tomorrow

suliyewey [suliyewey] money

Finally: wiyus [wiyus] meat

neɾamus [nelamus] my brother-in-law

nsis [nʔsis] my brother

təmətqəlnes [təmətqəlnes] wren

Intervocally: a·sək [a·zək] he meets it
 wa·so·k [wa·zo·k] heaven
 kisiku [kizigu] old man
 kəsa·luk [kəza·luk] he pinches

250 The phoneme /č/ is an alveopalatal affricate which we have found to be normally unvoiced initially and finally but voiced intervocally, giving the allophone [j].

Initially: č|pəsk [č|pəsk] root
 č|nəm [č|nəm] man
 ča·yutl [ča·yudl] chewing tobacco
 čenu [čenu] giant

Finally: ələmu·č|č [ələmu·j|č] dog pup
 nkl·č [ŋ'kl·č] my mother
 nl·kč|č [nl·kč|č] my little house
 nl·kəma·č [nl·gəma·č] my spouse

Intervocally: apəča·si [apəja·z|] I return
 ələmu·č|č [ələmu·j|č] dog pup
 pə·skačəl [pə·ska|əl] he shoots him
 kepičəqq [kəbi|əxx] he plugs it

260 The nasal phonemes comprise /m/ and /n/.
 The phoneme /m/ is a bilabial nasal that occurs initially, finally and intervocally.

Initially: mača·s|t [ma|a·z|t] he moves about
 moqwa: [moqwa:] no, not
 ml·kəma·w [ml·gəma·w] Micmac
 mən·fu [mən·du] devil

Finally: telutəm [telutəm] I tell him
 tiya·m [tiya·m] moose
 epəsqa·m [epəsqa·m] I lock it
 wen·či·kwom [wen·ji·gwom] house

Intervocally: čī·nəmuk [čī·nəmuk] men
 nemitat [nəmīdat] he sees
 pəlamo [pəlamo] salmon, singular
 temā·toq [təma·dox] he breaks it

270 The phoneme /n/ is an alveolar nasal occurring initially, finally and intervocally.

Initially: nipi·k [nibi·k] leaves (of tree)
 nenaq [nənax] I recognize him
 nutəmaqən [nutəmaqən] my pipe
 na·təlkiik [nā·də·ʔkiik] he is that size

Finally: pəm·tən [pəm·dən] mountain
 kwitən [kwidən] canoe
 npuskun' [ŋʔpuskun] my chest
 uta·n [uda·n] village

Intervocally: čī·nəm [čī·nəm] man
 -kina:qəpəmk [kina·qəpəmk] thy servants
 winā·toq [wina·dox] he spoils it
 nenaq [nənax] -I recognize him

280 The phoneme /l/ is an alveolar lateral liquid varying only slightly, according to phonetic environment and free variation, between front and back versions, back forms being more frequent. It occurs initially, finally and intervocally.

Initially: ləntukw [lən²tukw] deer
 ləttolaw [ləttolaw] bull
 laqpelaqənk [ləxpelayən²k] braces, suspenders
 lətqa·law [lətqa·law] line, string
 Finally: ntul [n²tul] my boat
 mattasčəl [matta·jəl] he beats him
 nitu·l [nidu·l] my beard
 maliktəl [maliktəl] forests
 Intervocally: teluwet [tɛ|uwɛt] he says
 elə·kittoq [ɛlə·gittfoq] he saws it
 alukw [alukw] cloud
 ulaqənk [ulayən²k] dishes

290 The following is a discussion of consonant phonemes of Newfoundland Micmac which occur in cluster and geminate position. The latter term, strictly used, refers to like phonemes occurring in succession. However, in this paper geminated consonants and those in clusters will be dealt with as one group since it has not been found necessary to make distinctions between two-member clusters of unlike phonemes and two-member geminates of like phonemes. Henceforth, the term "cluster" will be taken to include "geminate" as well.

The so-called "long" consonants, which form a distinctly separate category, are discussed later.

291 Consonant clusters in NM may consist of two or three members. Those clusters which are composed of more than one consecutive glosive, affricate or fricative generally

show those members unvoiced in any position in a word:

lem·puktuk [lem·buktuk] out in the bay

mskiku·l [m^hskigu·l] grass

sɪsqunn [sɪsqunn] noses

Plosives, affricates and fricatives that are members of a cluster and which occur in initial or final position in a word are unvoiced.

kwɪlk [kwɪlk] he seeks it

pla·kɪt [pla·gɪt] blanket

mənɪčk [mənɪčk] berry

292 As shown in the following table, two-member clusters occur initially, medially and finally (I, M, and F, respectively) depending on the elements involved.

Table of Two-Member Consonant Clusters

	p	t	k	q	č	s	l	m	n
p	M	M	IMF	IM	MF	M	I		
t	M	M	MF	M	MF	M	M		M
k	M	MF	M	M	M	MF	M		
q	M	MF		MF	M	M			M
č			MF		MF				
s	M	MF	MF	M				M	IM
l	M	M	MF	M	MF	M	M	M	MF
m	M	IM	IMF	M	M	IM	M		M
n	IM	IMF	IMF	IM	IMF	IMF	M	M	F

293 The clusters in the table represent the data generally; some clusters are more numerous than others. Still others occurring in loan-words from English appear to retain the influence of that language and lack examples in other native words:

lapətsuk rabbitspla.kit blanket

294 The following list contains examples of the two-member clusters recorded to date.

čč .uččəl [uččəl] his fatherčk .kička [kička] a little, a bitpatatučk [patadučk] on the leftkč .apukči.č [abukči.č] ratkikčəl'kway [kikčəl'kway] armpitkk .əkkat [əkkat] thy footəkkič. [əkkič] thy motherkl .lakla'ns [lakla'ns] barnuklamuksisəl [uklamuksisəl] his unclekp .kikpesaq [kikpezaq] it rainsukpitən [ukpidən] his handkq .əkqosi. [əkqosi.] thy nails

ks .čiksu.k [čiksu.k] there is a travelling family,
nomad family

maqoksit [maqoksit] he is big aroundkt .apəktək [abəktək] the other onesakti. [əkti] thy doglč .kelčit [kel'čit] he is frozennčilč [n'čilč] my father-in-lawlk .amal'kat [amal'kat] he danceskwilk [kwilk] he seeks it

- ll talləkwet [tallegwet] what is he doing?
- lm elmiyet [elmiyet] he goes home
 əlmi·kasek [əlmi·gəzek] inside (the room)
- ln mtəln [mʔtəln] ten
 wilnukwon [wilnugwon] cutting blade
- lp kelpəl [kelʔpəl] seaweed, kelp
 welpit [welʔpit] he is partly drunk
- lq malqotk [malʔqotk] he eats it
 welqamikeyk [welʔqamigeik] it is a good slope
- ls alsusit [alsuzit] he has a position of authority
 telsek [telsek] he cuts, whittles it
- lt əltək [əlʔtək] it leads to
 mal·tew [mal·dew] blood
- mč wen·či·kwomči·č [wen·ji·gwomči·č] log cabin
 əmči·kič [əmʔči·gič] tree stump
- mk əmkeyk [əmʔkeyk] open fields, country
 mkumi [mʔkumi] ice
- ml kamlamun [kamlamun] heart
 ukamlamutim [ukamlamutim] his breath
- mn pəpnikat̚k [pəpnigat̚k] he carries it on his shoulders
- mp pəmpa·q [pəmpa·x] tide is coming in
 təmpacəl [təmpaʔəl] he bites, chews it off
- mq lamqəmo·k [lamʔqəmo·k] underground
 emʔqwonci·c [emʔqwonči·č] spoon
- ms msaqsaxt [mʔsaxsaxt] floor
 mset [mʔset] all, every

mt	mtəln [mʔtəln] <u>ten</u>
	pemta:q [pəmʔtaːx] <u>it (the sound) is moving along</u>
nč	alanc [alanč] <u>herring</u>
	nciːnənum [ŋʔčiːnənum] <u>my husband, boyfriend, buddy</u>
nk	kekunk [kəkunʔk] <u>he has it</u>
	nkic [ŋʔkič] <u>my mother</u>
nī	punlukwet [punlukwet] <u>he stops working</u>
nm	wasoːqənmaɣən [wazoːqənmaɣən] <u>lamp</u>
nn	omuksənn [ɔmʊksənn] <u>his shoe</u>
	wiskimann [wiskimann] <u>partridgeberries</u>
np	npitenokəm [ŋʔpitenogəm] <u>my arm</u>
	welɪnpat [welɪnʔpat] <u>he sleeps soundly</u>
nq	nqosi [ŋʔqosi] <u>my nail</u>
	wənqamikek [wənʔqamɪgek] <u>hilly country</u>
ns	nsi [ŋʔsi] <u>my lip</u>
	pansaqtək [pansaxtek] <u>it is open</u>
nt	entog [enʔtox] <u>he loses it</u>
	ntul [ŋʔtul] <u>my boat</u>
pč	apči [apči] <u>always</u>
	čipčiːč. [čipčiːč] <u>little bird</u>
pk	nɪpk [nɪpk] <u>summer</u>
	pkaw [pkaw] <u>clay</u>
pl	plaːkit [plaːgit] <u>blanket</u>
pp	eppetək [ɛppedək] <u>the water is hot</u>
	suppin [suppin] <u>bowl, ladle</u>
pq	ničipqateːkit [ničipqadeːgit] <u>sparrow</u>
	pqaw [pqaw] <u>tree bark</u>

- ps ntapsun, [nʔtapsun] my clothes
 tupsi [tupsi] alder
- pt eptek [eptek] it is hot
 čiptuk [čiptuk] perhaps
- qč poqčiwa-toq [poxčiwa·dɔx] he bends it
 wičəqčemusī [wiʃoxčəmuzi] cherry tree
- qn əqna·taqanəm [əxna·dayənəm] thy nostril
- qp ntlaqpelaqənk [nʔtɬaxpelayənʔk] my braces, suspenders
 pansaqpit [panʔsaxpit] he is open
- qq kepičəqq [kəbiʃɔxq] he plugs it up
 əqqun [əxquŋ] thy heel
- qs ɛɬaqsɪnk [ɛɬaxsɪnʔk] he lies down
 qaqsit [qaxsit] he burns
- qt apaqtuk [abaxtuk] in the water near shore
 apoqtamo·sən {apox·tamo·zən} rowboat
- sk kiskuk [kɪskuk] day
 weskituk [wəskɪduk] it is on top
- sm kesma·tuwek [kɛsma·duwek] Push Brook
 sismoqən [sɪsmoɣən] sugar, sweets
- sn kisna· [kɪsna·] or
 snawey [snawey] maple tree
- sp ɛwsamikespasit [ɛwʔsamɪgɛspazit] he is, too dry
 kɪspa·q [kɪspa·x] tide is up
- sq sisqun [sɪsqun] nose
 wisqək [wisqək] it is sour
- st ɪstəkwoŋ [ɪstəgwoŋ] half of an animal
 mestək [mestək] he tastes it

- tk kitku [kitku] thy eyebrow
 malqotk [mal'qotk] he eats it
 tl etle·wistoq [etle·wistoq] he talks
 ketuwitla·toq [keduwitla·dox] he wants to do it
 tn wetna·toq [wetna·dox] he smells it
 tp kitpu [kitpu] eagle
 welitpa·q [welitpa·x] it is a fine night
 tq letqa·law [letqa·law] line, string
 wetqotk [wetqotk] he stops, hinders it
 ts petsačel [petsaʃel] he cuts him
 petsusit [petsuzit] he cuts himself
 tt nqettew [n'qettew] he will leave
 tatuttek [taduttek] how much is done?

295 To date only eight three-member consonant clusters have been found in NM. Examples for each of them are listed below.

- ktl uktlaqpelaqeneməl [uktlaxpelayənəməl] his braces,
suspenders
 msk mskiku·l [m'skigu·l] grass
 mskikwo·kwom [m'skigwo·gwom] hay barn
 mtl mtlu·tew [m'tlu·dew] smoke
 nsk newinska·q [newinska·x] forty
 newktinskeksicik [newktin'skeksiʃik] ten animate things
 ntl ntlaqpelaqenk [n'tlaxpelayən'k] my braces, suspenders
 ntlu·suk [n'tlu·zuk] my son-in-law
 psk qapsku·l [hapsku·l] rapids

welapskiyət [welapskiyət] he is tipsy, a little drunk
 qsk saqskey [saxskey] board, plank

296 Some consonant clusters in NM are characterized by the intrusion of a non-phonemic transitional sound between one member of the cluster and the next contiguous phoneme, usually a plosive or affricate. This purely phonetic innovation is a glottal plosive as shown in the following:

anko·tk [anʔko·tk] he looks after,
cares for it

anquneyk [anʔquneyk] I cover him

lənʔuk [lənʔuk] deer

nkwe·čl·č [ŋʔkwe·ʃl·č] my younger sister

ni·člɪnk [ni·ʃlɪnʔk] my children

npələqən [ŋʔpələqən] my buttock

memkeyk [mɛmʔkeyk] fields

milpek [mɪlʔpek] lakes

297 In other examples of clusters consisting of liquid and plosive the voicing of the liquid is not arrested and does not produce a glottal as in the examples above. In such cases we find the plosive to be voiced. Here we are presented with a distinct, though infrequent, cluster containing a "long" liquid consonant rather than a geminated one. The distinction is apparent in the following examples:

Short liquid: lənʔukw [lənʔukw] deer

əlpə· [əlʔpə·] really

Long liquid: mən·tu [mən·du] devil

əl·pa·tu [əl·bɑ·du] boy

Geminated liquid: kwɪtənn [kwɪdənn] canoes

* tallukwet [tallugwet] what is he doing?

Length in the liquid consonants has not been found to be phonemic. However, in the interests of clarity and to distinguish such "long" consonants from other geminated forms a length marker has been used throughout this paper in phonemic, as well as phonetic, transcription. It is important to make such a distinction between "long" and "short" liquid consonants as well. Not only does the continued voicing of a "long" liquid result in the voicing of the immediately following plosive, but we also find that in such examples the unvoicing of nasal liquids in initial position in both the word and the cluster does not occur. Unvoicing of initial nasal liquids does occur in initial clusters due to normal assimilation in examples such as the following:

msət [mʔsət] all, every

mte'skəm [mʔte'skəm] snake

mskiku'l [mʔskigu'l] grass

npukum [nʔpugum] frankum, gum

nqun [nʔqun] my heel

nsisqun [nʔsisqun] my nose

nti [nʔti] my dog

ntul [nʔtul] my boat

GLIDES

300 : The following is a discussion of the glide phonemes in Newfoundland Micmac.

The glides in this dialect consist of two phonemes, /w/ and /y/, each of which has been found to occur in all word positions with one exception; present data do not support the occurrence of /y/ in word initial position.

310 The phoneme /w/ is a velar glide with pronounced lip-rounding. The following are examples of this phoneme in initial, intervocalic and final positions.

Initial: wa·pəskw [wə·bəskw] polar bear
 wi·kətiqən [wi·gətiqən] book
 weʃiwow [weʃiwow] near
 wəwk [wəwk] pots

Finally: kun·tew [kun·dew] stone
 kel·itaw [kel·idaw] raspberry
 nape·w [nape·w] rooster, male bird
 letqa·law [letqa·law] line, string

Intervocally: ɛpkewɛyk [ɛpkeweyk]. downstairs
newiɕik: [newiɕik] four, animate
mu teluwisiwek [mudɛluwiziwek] he and I
are not named...
weɕuwa piɕik [weɕuwa biɕik] they are
seated close together

320 The phonème /y/ is an alveopalatal glide. The following examples show intervocalic and final occurrences.

Finally:

salawey [salawey] salt

a·talay [a·dalay] shirt

piley^o [piley] new

maltecuwey [mal[?]tecuwey] hammer

Intervocally:

muyaq [muyax] sea ducks

pemitayoq [pem·dayox] you two are walking

nemiyoq [nemiyox] you all see him

teluwisiyek [teluwiziye] he and I are named...

330

While pre-consonantal /y/ and post-consonantal /w/ are well represented in this dialect, examples of pre-consonantal /w/ are less numerous and post-consonantal /y/ does not exist according to the data.

Normally, a plosive, affricate or fricative is voiced in inter-vocalic position. The occurrence of a glide in contiguous position with such a consonant does not usually alter its voicing:

moqwa [moqwa·] no, not

wi·kwaptek [wi·gwaptek] he laughs at it

apesqeyken [apesqeygen] lock

However, examples of pre-consonantal /w/ which are separated from the consonant by a phonetic feature, the glottal plosive [ʔ], are characterized by the unvoicing of the consonant, as in the following:

awti [aw[?]ti] path

wowkwis [wow[?]kwis] fox

new[?]inska·q [new[?]in[?]ska·x] ten (used

in 11 to 19)

VOWELS

400 The following is a discussion of the vowel phonemes of NM. In all there are eleven vowel phonemes broadly divisible into two groups: the six short vowels and, with the singular exception of short schwa, the corresponding long vowels. Distribution is as according to the table below:

Vowel Phoneme Distribution

i		u
e	ə	o
	<u>a</u>	

410 The vowels may be described from the viewpoint of articulation as follows: /i/ is high front unrounded; /e/ is mid-low front unrounded; /a/ is low medium unrounded; /o/ is mid-low back slightly rounded; /u/ is high back unrounded; /ə/ is mid-low medium unrounded.

420 The vowels occur singly for the most part. Potential clusters are broken up by the glides /w/ and /y/ so that except for a few isolated and unresolved examples we do not find clusters of nonidentical vowels. The following are typical vowel-glide combinations:

siyawiw- often

po.taliyewey basket

ča.yuti tobacco

ka.watk. spruce tree

430 Like glides, stress is also a factor related to the distribution and occurrence of the vowel phonemes.

Because of the interplay of stress and length, stress tends to be found more frequently on long vowels and less on short vowels in this dialect.

440 The vowels occur initially, medially and, less frequently, finally. There are few, if any, occurrences of the phonemes /i·, e, a, u·/ and schwa word finally. In the actual stream of speech vowels in this position are generally found to be short even though the vowel sometimes occurs long when, as in the case of nouns, a plural or other ending is added to the word:

sipu river; sipu^o·l rivers; sipu·s·s brook

tups·i alder; tups·i·l alders

kisiku old man; kisiku·k old men

palamo salmon; palamo·k salmon, pl.

450 The vowels are voiced and oral, and their phonetic record shows some conditioned and some free variation within the ranges of timbre and tongue position given below for short vowel phonemes; there is no significant change in the timbre of the long vowels.

Table of Vowel Variants

	SHORT		LONG
	lax	tense	
TAMBER	i	i	i·
	e	e	e·
	u	u	u·
	o	o	o·
	a	a	a·
POSITION	front	back	
	a	a	

451 The choice of actual symbols for the vowel phonemes represents a consensus of opinion among previous workers on the Miemac language as well as a compromise with the typewriter. Our use in this paper of /a/ as the symbol for the low medium unrounded vowel phoneme must be noted to prevent a misunderstanding in orthography; the phoneme /a/ comprises the front allophone [a] and the back allophone [ɑ], while the phoneme /a/ is represented phonetically as [a], an expedient if somewhat deceptive device.

452 Generally, short vowels fall into two varieties which we have termed "lax" and "tense" according to the relative tension of the vocal apparatus involved in their production. Such tension is not a major factor in the distinction between the allophones [a] and [ɑ]; here, instead, we are dealing with a difference in the point of articulation or, more specifically, whether the phoneme is produced in a front or a back tongue position.

453 The distinguishing feature of long vowels is of a scalar nature; tenseness-laxness or point of articulation of an allophonic nature is irrelevant since the long vowel phonemes present no substantial examples of allophonic variation.

460 Factors related to short vowel conditioning are found in the phonetic environment. Of the short vowel phonemes the lax allophones are more frequently present before consonant clusters containing plosives, affricates or fricatives than are the tense allophones.

kistala·toq [kistala·dɔx] he achieved it

memkwa·toq [mem·qwa·dɔx] he hides it

lan·tukw [lan·tukw] deer

ketkiyet, [ketkiyet] he is drunk

keska·taq [keska·dɔx] it disappears.

461 There may be a tendency for lax vowel phonemes to occur more frequently in pre-liquid consonant position:

telipitossit [telipitossit] he is so

tall, thus

suliyewey [suliyewey] money

kelulacel [kelulacel] he speaks to him

nqun [n·qun] my heel

462 Short vowel phonemes found in unstressed syllables are generally lax except word finally.

sisip [sɪzɪp] bird

mem·kwatoq [mem·qwa·dɔx] he hides it

edikala·lacel [ɛ·ɪgəld·lɛjəl] he removes him

muk tela·tu [muk telɔ·du] do not do that

paska·tu [paskɔ·du] I burst it

alasutame·sewacel [alazudame·səwajəl]

he prays

edli·kala·si [ɛ·ɪgəld·zi] I am going away

Because of this coincidence of lax vowels and unstressed position it is difficult to reach definite conclusions regarding the frequency of occurrence of lax vowels in pre-liquid consonant position since, if the lax vowel is in pre-liquid consonant position it is normally

in an unstressed syllable as well. Inversely, if we find a vowel in both a pre-liquid consonant position and in a stressed syllable, we normally find that vowel to be long or tense.

463 We find lax, tense and long vowel forms after consonant clusters:

ciptuk [ciptuk] perhaps

aksil [aksil] your lips

loote·kan [loote·gan] trap

464 Although the data will not support occurrences of lax vowel forms before the glides, there is sufficient evidence to show occurrences of both tense and long vowels before glides:

Tense before w: kun·tew [kun·dew] stone

palawic [palawic] partridge

Tense before y: mekweyk [mekweyk] red

miyawci·c [miyawji·c] kitten

Long before w: apkwa·w [apkwə·w] fir tree bark

tu·wa·tidik [tu·wa·di·jik] they all play ball

Long before y: ča·yuti [ča·yuti] chewing tobacco

kisiku·ye·pit [kizigu·ye·bit] old woman

470 The conditioning of the allophones of /a/, that is, of [ɐ] and [a], is to be accounted for by environment, [a] being generally found in a front environment and [ɐ] being found in a back environment.

nenas [nənax] I recognize him

kelitaw [kelidaw] raspberry

inaqən [inaɣən] right hand
 punačətk [punaʃoʔtk] he leaves it alone
 apistanewc [abistanewč] marten
 setamipi [sədamibi] stern oar
 wi·kafikən [wi·gadɪgən] book
 mača·lačəl [maʃə·laʃəl] he moves him
 nā·qəni·katk, [nə·qəni·gatk] he scoops it

471 An important consideration is the random influence of free variation in the occurrence of short vowel allophones. Only free variation can account for the apparent inconsistencies shown by some of the data. Free variation, although present for the short vowels generally, is best illustrated by the following examples:

papit [babit] ~ [babit] he is having fun
 kaltiyey [kalʔtiyey] ~ [kalʔtiyey] one fourth
 cipalk [cɪbalk] ~ [cɪbalk] I am afraid
 lapətsuk [labətsuk] ~ [labətsuk] rabbits
 wapuskwekadi [wabuskwegadi] ~ [wabuskwegadi] Hare
Country, a region north of Conne
River

480 Contrast to show the phonemic status of the vowel phonemes must depend, for the most part, on less than optimal examples; words of truly minimal contrast are infrequent.

i : e ekumit it is moored : ekwiʃamət he fishes
 wipitəl his teeth : wipetičik they sleep together
 teleyit he fares so, thus : eliyet he goes
 mekwit he is swollen : elukwet he works

e : a wekilat he (dog) barks : kesəlet he stinks
ekwitamet he fishes : alasutəmat he prays
apitə·kwečit tanpot : kaqo·wačiyaq never mind, it is okay
a : o ika·taqən a farm : ika·toq he bets it
keska·taq it disappears : keska·toq he loses sight of it
lattolaw bull : po·taliyewey basket
maqtaq it is thick string : ika·toq he bets it
o : u lapowel frying pan : puwowin witch
pəlamə salmon : mu sea duck
postunkewač American : puskun chest (anat.)
u : ə nčikun my knee : nkačikən my leg
nesukuna·q three days : weču·sək it is windy
čiptuk perhaps : ankaptək he watches it
keskuk it is heavy : metuwikiskək it is bad weather
uqqun his heel : əqqun thy heel
msətuwesuwa·toq he takes it all : ilkwi·fək he steers it
apaqtūk in the water near shore : apəktək the other ones
asukoma·sit he goes across the water : asəkom six
ə : o melkətek it is hard to get out : mekotatpat he has
a bald head
espətanəkek on the river bank : npitənokəm my arm
a·telay shirt, aptəlamitaq he drowns : lattolaw bull
ə : e keltək he freezes it : eltək it leads to
piča·lək it is inside : kesəlek he stinks
a·telay shirt : na·telkilk he is that size
kəlnikən godson : kuskuniken thy elbow

a : a . aləmačəl he looks him over : kamlamit he breathes
 nte·pitem my wife : nima·otam my brother-in-law (man's)
 kemutənatk he steals it : ketənačəl he hunts him
 a·təlay shirt : po·taliyəwəy basket
 lamqəmo·k underground : əktaqəmo·k in the corner
 kəmisikwan thy eyelash : kamlamit he breathes

490. Contrastive pairs for short and long vowel phonemes
 are listed below. This list does not list the phoneme
 schwa, /ə/, which has no long vowel equivalent.

a : a . api bow : a·pi net
 čipasit he is afraid : ketapa·sit he dives in
 kekina·masit he learns : elisəma·sit he lies down
 keska·taq it disappears : telta·q it sounds so, thus
 pičiyəq it falls in (a hole) : eliya·q it goes
 kespatek it is dry : ketapa·taq he is sunk
 ikatepisun garter : keska·taq it disappears
 čiči·kačəl he scrapes him : čika·čewəy dust
 u : u . čimuk out from the back woods : milamu·k various things
 kelusit he speaks : kəlu·sit he is beautiful
 kəlu·lačəl he speaks to him : kəlu·lk it is good
 o : o . pəlamə salmon : pəlamə·k salmon, plural
 wəla·kotalultimk evening meal : anko·tk he cares for it
 kopit beaver : ko·peč glitter, silver thaw
 e : e . sewiska·toq he breaks it up : se·wisika·sik it is torn
 eltek it leads to : niste·k he knocks it down
 nqəttew he will leave : kəlu·site·w gaff topsail
 ewikasit he is written down : e·wikasit he uses it
 i : i . čika·čewəy dust : čiči·kačəl he scrapes him

wiskip ash : əski·pəl boss

wiŋčikəl bad spot : wen·čŋ·kwom house

tekik cold : welki·k it fits

491 The schwa phoneme is unlike the remaining short vowel forms in that it does not have a long vowel phoneme equivalent. Also, it may often be found in a stressed syllable in the lax allophonic form, [ə]. In fact, the tense allophone, [ʌ], must be considered to be a relatively rare variant and varies freely with [ə] when it does occur:

lənʔukw [lənʔtukw] ~ [lənʔtukw] deer

wisqək [wiʃqʌk] ~ [wisqək] it is sour

mtəln [mʔʔʌln] ~ [mʔʔəln] ten

mkəkən [mʔʔkʌgən] ~ [mʔʔkəgən] hook

Because these examples constitute an almost exhaustive, and perhaps suspect, list and pending further and more decisive phonetic data, we suggest that this tenuous [ʌ] exists as a purely phonetic and free variant of the phoneme schwa in NM.

492 Another exhaustive list, the one below, illustrates what may be the rudiments of a vowel cluster system in this dialect. Phonetically, the vowels of the cluster are sounded separately thus precluding the possibility of a glide. Because this list is indeed exhaustive, anything other than tentative conclusions must await further evidence. Meanwhile we present these examples as vowel clusters of nonidentical vowel phonemes:

new. [neu] four

neukunit. [neugunit] fourth

euneyk [euneyk] foggy

euneykəl [euneygəl] foggy patches, areas

əukun [augin] curtain

PROSODICS

500 Neither stress, pitch nor intonation has been found to be distinctive in Newfoundland Micmac. Intonation and pitch vary freely according to the speaker's mood and intention. Indeed, stress may be shown to be non-distinctive by a comparison of stressed and non-stressed syllables as in the following table.

Occurrence of Stress in Syllables

	STRESS	NO STRESS
Short lax vowels	+	+
Short tense vowels	+	+
Long vowels	+	+

Examples of primary stress on lax vowels are:

skwičín [skwíjín] person

kwitén [kwíden] canoe

pipənaqən [píbənaqən] bread

teluwisiyek [teluwíziyek] he and I are

named...

510 Stress is thus present in syllables containing all vowel types. However, it does not vary completely freely and although stress is not distinctive it can also be shown that there is a relationship involving the high frequency of stress occurrence on tense and long vowels as in the examples below.

mača·sik [májd·zik] it moves about

tiya·m [tiyd·m] moose

sipayek [sɪpáyek] valley

suppin [súppɪn] bowl, ladle

520 In Algonkian generally, long vowels receive the stress and every second syllable before or after a long vowel is given a secondary stress except when adjacent to another stressed syllable.²³ Also, generally, this is true for NM:

maɪsano·kwom [máɪsano·gwom] store, shop

poqtasqa·si [pɔktasqá·zi] room

kiskačoltičik [kiska]ólti]ik] they are

ready to leave

wapuskwēkati [wábuskwégadi] rabbit country

eluwí·kenēk [əluwí·genək] seven

521 The stress may shift within a word in NM. As an isolated item on a word list a word may have the stress on one syllable when said aloud, while in the context of the stream of speech shifting of the stress to another syllable may occur:

moqwa· [móywa·] no, not

moqwa· wēléyiwakwēl [móywd· wēléyiwákwe] he does

not treat him well

Shifts in stress also occur during changes from a singular noun form to plural, no doubt resulting from the appearance of the long vowel:

nipi [nɪbɪ] leaf

nipi·k [nɪbɪ·k] leaves

Changes in endings, as in the case of verb suffixes, may result in shifts in stress:

weskeweyi [wɛskewɛyi] I laugh

weskeweyk [wɛskɛwɛyk] he laughs

Stress may also shift in the process of word derivation, or even simply vary freely in some cases:

musqunamo:k [musqunamò:k] it is blue, II

musqunamoqsit [mùsqundmoxsɪt] [musqunamòxsɪt]

he is blue, AI

530 Our data does not support any suggestion of subtle interplay among pitch, stress and vowel length which may be in the case in, for example, Maliseet.²⁴ However, one must note that in NM stressed vowels are more frequently long than tense and more often tense than lax notwithstanding the fact that any vowel may be stressed in this dialect. Whether this priority of stressed vowels has special significance we are unable to determine at this time.

We may state, however, that our data does not support any suggestion that stress, intonation or pitch show evidence of being distinctive for NM and, on the contrary, seem to suggest otherwise, as we have seen.

CONCLUSION

600 We have attempted to furnish possible solutions to the more important and pressing phonological problems in Newfoundland Micmac while providing a consistent description of the whole phonemic system.

601 We have found the consonant system to conform to a relatively regular pattern and that, in this dialect, a phonemic distinction is made by informants between the velar phoneme /k/ and the postvelar phoneme /q/. We have also found it expedient to attempt a resolution of problems presented by the contiguous occurrence of liquids and plosives by suggesting a "long" liquid in certain specified instances as opposed to a geminate liquid cluster in others.

602 The vowel system has also exhibited a regularity which depends on our analysis of the natural division of phonemes into short and long, and the further division of the short phonemes into lax and tense allophones.

603 We have uncovered nothing significant regarding the prosodics on NM except to note that stress, intonation and pitch do not appear to be distinctive.

610 In the process of providing a reasonable description of this dialect, however, we have uncovered several potential avenues of further study, notably regarding the question of possible relationships between stress and vowel tamber and, as well, the actual status of

certain nonidentical vowel clusters.

620 Considering the advanced age of our remaining informant and the other members of his generation, and the possible unsuitability of younger members of the Conne River community as linguistic informants, we would suggest that some haste is warranted if further study is to be made in the analysis of this dialect.

For that matter, any intended study on the Conne River inhabitants with the purpose of researching, academically, any aspect of their contemporary native Indian culture will soon be too little too late, if such is not now already the case.

1. The present population of Conne River is, according to the 1971 Canada Census, 486 people; The Atlantic Year Book, B. Morrison, ed., (Fredericton, 1975).
2. Hewson 1973:2.
3. Most of the items used are from Bloomfield 1946. Most of the Micmac items here and all of those elsewhere in this paper are taken from transcribed data given by Conne River Informants.
4. Hewson 1973:159.
5. Data from Bloomfield 1946.
6. From transcribed data from Conne River.
7. Data from Ellis 1961.
8. Data from Rand 1888 (retranscribed from original).
9. Hewson 1973:151. Examples in this list are Dr. Hewson's, used with permission.
10. Szabó 1971:5.
11. Several hours of field tapes done on the Membertou and Eskasoni Reserves in Cape Breton in August 1971 were intended only for the sake of comparison with identical items previously taken at Conne River. Another data source were several handwritten pages transcribed verbatim, without tape recordings, at Conne River with Peter Jeddore, a relative of Matthew and Paul Nicholas, and since deceased. All of the truly useful data have transcribed within the past five years, the latest during the summer of 1975. Most of this data has been permanently placed on tape.
12. Died at Grand Falls Hospital, 1970.
13. e.g. Pacifique 1939.
14. Hodge 1912:289.
15. Lescarbot 1928:181.
16. Hodge 1913:293.
17. Dumont-Johnson 1970:24.

18. Lieut. Edward Chappell, Voyage of His Majesty's Ship Rosamond to Newfoundland, (London, J. Mawman, 1818), pp. 76-77.
19. Brown 1867:357.
20. Brown 1867:358-359.
21. St. Croix 1937:284.
22. Mowat 1969:190, 193.
23. Hewson 1973:160.
24. See Szabó 1971 for details.

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Appendix 1: Table of Consonant and Glide Phonemes

p t k q
 č
 s
 m n
 l
 w y

Appendix 2: Table of Two-Member Consonant Clusters

	p	t	k	q	č	s	l	m	n
p	M	M	IMF	IM	MF	M	I		
t	M	M	MF	M	MF	M	M		M
k	M	MF	M	M	M	MF	M		
q	M	MF		MF	M	M			M
č			MF		MF				
s	M	MF	MF	M				M	IM
l	M	M	MF	M	MF	M	M	M	MF
m	M	IM	IMF	M	M	IM	M		M
n	IM	IMF	IMF	IM	IMF	IMF	M	M	F

930

Appendix 3: Table of Vowel Phoneme Distribution

Front Mid Back

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

940

Appendix 4: Table of Vowel Variants

TAMBER	SHORT		LONG	
	lax		tense	
	i	i	i	i
	e	e	e	e
	u	u	u	u
	o	o	o	o
	ə	ə		
POSITION	front		back	
	a	a	a	a

950

Appendix 5: Table of Occurrence of Stress in Syllables

	STRESS	NO STRESS
Short lax vowels	+	+
Short tense vowels	+	+
Long vowels	+	+

960 Appendix 6: Word Index

The following list contains only those words used as examples in the text. Word functions are given for each item followed by short definitions and page references. This index is alphabetized; long vowels and liquid consonants are listed as if they were geminated and words beginning with schwa are listed after those beginning with /w/. (NA = animate noun; NI = inanimate noun; AI = animate intransitive verb; II = inanimate intransitive verb; TA = transitive animate verb; TI = transitive inanimate verb; XP = particle or uninflected form).

a·pi	NA	net	10, 34
a·sək	TI	he meets it	14
a·təlay	NA	shift	26, 33
ačiyet	NA	hour	10
akəlaşiye·w	NA	an Englishman	13
alanč	NA	herring	20
alasutəmat	AI	he prays	30, 33
alsusit	AI	he has a position of authority	19
alukw	NI	cloud	16
aləmačəl	TA	he looks him over	34
amalkat	AI	he dances	18
ankaptək	TI	he watches it	33
ankw·tk	TI	he looks after, cares for it	23, 34

anquneyk'	TA	I cover him	23
ap	XP	again	9
apaqtuk	XP	in the water near shore	21, 33
apči	XP	always	20
api	NA	bow	34
apistanewč	NA	marten	32
apita-kwečit	NA	barking kettle, tan pot	33
apoqtamo-sən	NI	rowboat	21
aptəlamitaq	AI	he drowns	33
apukčič	NA	rat	18
apəča-si	AI	I return	14
apəča-sik	II	it returns	11
apəktək	NA	the other ones	18, 33
apəsqeykən	NI	lock	26
asukoma-sit	AI	he crosses the water	33
asəkom	XP	six	33
aukun	NI	curtain	36
awti	NI	path	26
ča-yuti	NI	chewing tobacco	14, 27, 31
čenu	NA	giant	14
či-kacəl	TA	he scrapes him	11, 34
čimuk	XP	out from the back woods	34
či-nəm	NA	man	2, 14, 15
či-nəmuk	NA	men	15
čika-čewey	NI	speck of dust	34
čiksu-k	II	there is a travelling, nomad, family	18

čipalk	AI	I am afraid	32
čipašit	AI	he is afraid	34
čipatk	TI	he fears it	10
čipcič	NA	small bird	20
čip.tuk	XP	perhaps	21, 31, 33
čipəšk	NI	root	14
e.pit	NA	woman	2
e.wikasiť	AI	he uses it	34
ečikəla.lačəl	TA	he removes him	30
ečikəla.si	AI	I am going away	31
ekumit	AI	it is moored	32
ekwitəmet	AI	he fishes	33
ela.kittoq	TI	he saws it	11, 16
elaqsink	AI	he lies down	21
el.isəma.sit	AI	he lies down	34
eliya.q	II	it goes	34
eliyet	AI	he goes	32
el.miyet	AI	he goes home	19
eltek	II	it leads to	33, 34
el.ukwet	AI	he works	32
emqwondič	NA	spoon	19
entoq	TI	he loses it	20
epkeweyk	XP	downstairs	25
eppetek	II	the water is hot	20
eptek	II	it is hot	21
epəsqa.m	TI	I lock it	15

espatənəkek	XP on the river bank	33
etle·wistoq	TI he talks	22
eūneyk	II it is foggy	36
eūneykəl	II there are foggy patches	36
ewikasit	AI he <u>is</u> written down	34
ewo·kəma·tičik	AI they are cousins	13
ewsamikespasit	AI he is too dry	21
ika·taqən	NI farm	33
ika·toq	TI he lets it go, bets it	33
ikatəpisun	NA garter	34
ikwi·tək	TI he steers it	33
inagən	NI right hand	32
istəkwon	NI half of an animal	21
ka·t	NA eel	9
ka·watk	NI spruce tree	27
kaltiye	NI quarter	32
kamlamit	AI he breathes	34
kamlamun	NI heart	19
kaqo·wačiyad	II it is all right, okay	33
kekina·masit	AI he learns	34
kekunk	TI he has it	20
kelčir	AI he is frozen	18
kelitaq	NA raspberries	11
kelitaw	NA raspberry	10, 25, 31
kelpəl	NI seaweed, kelp	19
keltək	TI he freezes it	33

kelulačal	TA	he speaks to him	30, 34
kelusit	AI	he speaks	34
kelu'lk	II	it is good	10, 34
kelu'sit	AI	he is beautiful	10, 34
kelu'site'w	NA	gaff topsail	34
kemutanatk	TH	he steals it	34
kepičooqq	TI	he plugs it up	14, 21
kesa'luk	AI	he pinches	14
kesi'kelu'lk	II	it is very good	8
kesi'piley	II	it is very new	8
kesinukwat	AI	he is sick	13
keska'taq	II	it disappears	30, 33, 34
keska'toq	TI	he loses sight of it	33
keskuk	II	it is heavy	33
kesma'tuwek	NI	Push Brook	21
kespatek	II	it is dry	34
kesa'et	AI	he stinks	33
ketunačal	TA	he hunts him	34
ketante'ket	AI	he hunts	9
ketape'sit	AI	he dives in	34
ketapa'taq	AI	he is sunk	34
ketki'et	AI	he is drunk	30
ketuwitla'toq	TI	he wants to do it	22
kička	XP	a little, a bit	18
ki'kam	NA	thy friend	10
kikčalkway	NI	armpit	18
kikpesa	II	it rains	10, 18

kina·qəpemk	NA	thy servants	15—
kisiku	NA	old man	14, 28
kisiku·k	NA	old men, old people	28, 11
kisiku·ye·pit	NA	old woman	31
kiskacolticik	AI	they are ready to leave	38
kiskuk	NI	day	21
kisna	XP	or	21
kispa·q	II	the tide is up	21
kistəla·toq	TI	he achieves it	30
kitku	NA	thy eyebrow	22
kitpu	NA	eagle	22
kopit	NA	beaver	2, 34
kun·tew	NI	stone	25, 31
ko·peč	NI	glitter, silver thaw	34
kupəlnowəl	NA	government	9
kurskuniken	NA	thy elbow	33
kutč	NA	thy father	22
kwilk	TI	he seeks it	17, 18
kwitən	NI	canoe	15, 23, 37
<hr/>			
kəlnikən	NA	godson	33
kəmsikwan	NA	thy eyelash	34
lāka·p	NI	cellar	13
lākla·ns	NI	barn	18
lakolet	NI	cord of wood	13
lāngamo·k	XP	underground	19, 34
lāpowəl	NA	frying pan	33
lāpətsu	NA	rabbits	18, 32

laqpelaqank	NA	braces, suspenders	16
lattolaw	NA	bull	16, 33
lem·puktuk	XP	out in the bay	17
loqte·kan	NI	trap	31
lanfukw	NA	deer	16, 23, 30, 35
latqa·law	NA	line, string, twine	16, 22, 25
mača·lačal	TA	he moves him	32
mača·sik	II	it moves	37
mača·sit	AI	he moves about	14
makasan	NI	shop, store	13
maliktel	NI	birch forests	16
malqotk	TI	he eats it	19, 22
malsano·kwom	NI	store	38
maltečuwey	NI	hammer	26
maltew	NI	blood	19
maqa·q	II	it is thick, big	13
maqoksit	AI	he is big around	12, 13, 18
maqtaq	II	it is thick string	33
matta·čal	TA	he beats him	16
mekotatpat	AI	he has a bald head	33
mekweyk	II	it is red	31
mekwjt	AI	he is swollen	32
mekatek	II	it is hard to get out	33
mem·kwatoq	TI	he hides it	30
mestək	TI	he tastes it	21
metuwikiskək	II	it is bad weather	33

mi·kəmə·w	NA	a Micmac person,	14
miləmu·k	NI	various things	34
milpek	NI	lakes	23
miyawčič	NA	kitten	31
m̄kum̄i	NI	ice	19
mkəkan	NI	hook	35
moqwa·	XP	not, no	14, 26, 38
moqwa·	TA	he does not treat him	
weləyiwokwəl		well	38
msəqsəqt	NI	floor	19
mskiku·l	NI	grass	17, 22, 24
mskikwəkwom	NI	hay barn	22
msət	NI	all, every	10, 19, 24
msətəwesuwə·tog	TI	he takes it all	33
mie·skəm	NA	snake	24
mtlu·fəw	NI	smoke	22
mtəlp	XP	ten	19, 20, 35
mu	NA	sea duck	33
muktelə·tu	TI	don't do that	30
musqunamo·k	II	it is blue	39
musqunamoqsit	AI	he is blue	39
mu teluwisi·nek	AI	he and I are not named...	25
muyəc	NA	sea ducks	26
manič·k	NI	berry	17
man·tu	NA	devil	14, 23
na·qey	XP	now, then	12
na·təqana·sit	AI	he comes ashore	13

na-to qoqəwey	NI something	8
na-təlkiik	AI he is that size	15, 33
nape-w	NA male bird, rooster	25
nasa-toq	TI he puts it on	10
nči-Aemum	NA my husband	20
nčikun	NA my knee	33
nčilč	NA my father-in-law	18
nekəm	NA he, him	2
nelamus	NA my brother-in-law (woman's)	13
nemitat	AI he sees	15
nemitan	AI you can see	10
nemitog	TI he sees it	11
nemiyoq	TI you all see him	26
nənaq	TA I recognize him	15, 31
nepat	AI he sleeps	9
nesukuna-q	XP three days	33
neu	XP four	36
neukunit	XP fourth (of the month)	36
newičik	NA four (animate)	25
newinska-q	XP forty	22
newktakik	NI one dollar	13
newktinskeksiček	NA ten animate things	22
newtinska-q	XP ten (used in 11 to 19)	26
ničink	NA my children	23
ni-kči-č	NI my little house	14
ni-kəma-č	NA my spouse, partner, friend	14
ničipgate-kit	NA sparrow	20

nima:qam	NA	my brother-in-law (man's)	34
nipi	NA	leaf	38
nipik	NA	leaves	15, 38
nipit	NI	my tooth	10
nipk	NI	summer	20
niste:k	TI	he knocks it down	34
nitap	NA	my husband, boyfriend, buddy	10
nitul	NI	my beard	16
nkačikan	NI	my leg	33
nkič	NA	my mother	14, 20
nkwe:či:č	NA	my (younger) sister	23
noqamkina:q	NI	sugar, sweets	13
npačam	NI	my back	13
npitanokam	NI	my arm	13, 20, 33
npukum	NA	my chewing gum	24
npuskun	NI	my chest	15
npelagač	NI	my buttock	23
ngosi	NA	my nail	20
ngun	NA	my heel	24, 30
ngattew	TI	he will leave (fut.)	12, 22, 34
nsi	NI	my lip	20
nsis	NA	my elder brother	13
nsisqun	NI	my nose	24
nta:sun	NI	my clothes	21
nte:sit	NA	my wife	34
nti	NA	my dog	24
ntilagač:gač	NA	my braces, suspenders	21, 22

ntlu·suk	NA	my son-in-law	22
ntul	NI	my boat	16, 20, 24
ntap	NI	my brain	10
nučč	NA	my father	18
nutəmədən	NA	my pipe	15
omuksən	NA	his shoe	20
pa·qəmikek	NI	field	9
paŋsaqpit	AI	he is open	21
paŋsaqtek	II	it is open	20
papit	AI	he plays, has fun.	9, 32
paska·tu	TI	I burst it	30
paŋatučk	XP	on the left	18
pe·skačəl	TA	he shoots him	14
pe·skač	TI	he shoots it	13
pamitayəq	AI	you two are walking	26
pəmnikač	TI	he carries it on his shoulder	19
pəmpaŋ	II	the tide is coming in	19
pəmtaŋ	II	it (sound) is moving along	20
pərsəčəl	TA	he cuts him	22
pərsusit	AI	he cuts himself	22
pičə·lak	II	it is inside	33
pičiyəq	II	it falls in a hole	34
piley-	XP	new, fresh	26
pipənəqən	NI	bread	37
pitəŋ	II	it is long	9, 11
pkə	NA	clay	20

pla·kit	NI blanket	17, 20
po·qən	NI bed	12, 13
po·taliyewey	NI basket	27, 33, 34
poqčiwa·toq	TI he bends it	21
poqtəsqa·si	NI room	38
postunkewač	NA America	33
pqaw	NA tree bark	20
puksuk	NI wood, firewood	11
puna·mweku·s	NA January	9
punačotk	TI he leaves it alone	9, 32
punlukwet	AI he stops working	20
puskun	NI chest	33
puwowin	NA witch	33
palamo	NA salmon	15, 28, 33, 34
palamo·k	NA salmon, plural	11, 28, 34
palawed	NA partridge	31
paleku	NI nail, spike	9
pəm·tan	NA hill, mountain	15
qa·qaxwed	NA crow	11
qa·qən	NA doorway	11
qalipu	NA caribou	2, 11
qalipu·k	NA caribou, plural	9
qaasəu·t	NI rapids	12, 22
qaasit	AI he burns	11, 21
qasəwə·kw	NI iron	11
qəqəwə·toq	TI he grabs it	11
qəqəwey	XP what	11

qosi	NA	finger nail	12
qospem	NI	lake	12
salawey	NI	salt	26
samuqwan	NI	water	13
sapo·nuk	NI	tomorrow	13
saqskey	NI	board, plank	23
setamipi	NI	stern oar	13, 32
se·wiska·sik	II	it is broken, torn	34
sewiska·toq	TI	he breaks it up	34
sewisto·ket	AI	he breaks on the rocks	
		(boat)	13
sipayek	NI	valley	38
sipu	NI	river	1, 13, 28
sipu·T	NI	rivers	28
sipu·si·s	NI	stream, brook	28
sisip	NA	bird	9, 30
sismoqen	NI	sugar, sweets	21
sisqun	NI	nose	21
sisqunh	NI	noses	17
siyawin	XP	often	27
skwič'in	NA	person	37
snawey	NA	maple tree	21
suliyewey	NI	money	13, 30
suppin	NA	bowl, ladle	20, 38
ta·pu	XP	two	10
talləkwet	AI	what is he doing?	19, 24
tapsun	NI	clothes	10

ta	AI	how much is done?	22
tekik	II	it is cold (to touch)	35
tekjku's	NA	November	10
teleyit	AI	he fares so, thus	32
telipiroqsit	AI	he is so tall	30
telsək	TI	he cuts, whittles it	11, 19
telta	II	it sounds so, thus	34
telutəm	TA	I tell him	15
teluwt	AI	he says	16
teluwisiver	AI	he and I are named...	26, 37
tens-kittor	TI	he saws it off, down	11, 13
tens-tor	TI	he breaks it, snaps it	15
tensadai	TA	he bites, chews it off	19
tetukikisak	XP	so far during the day	9
tive-m	NA	moose	2, 10, 15, 37
togwa-diku's	NA	November	13
towa-ticik	AI	they all play ball	31
tugsi	NI	alder	21, 28
tugsi-l	NI	alders	28
tomager	NA	pipe	10
tomatpaines	NA	wren	13
uŋŋa	NA	his father	18
uŋŋatəm	NI	his breath	19
ukhamuŋis	NA	his uncle	18
uŋŋit	NI	his hand	18
uŋŋatəm	NA	his braces, suspenders	22

ulagank	NA	dishes, bowls	16
uqun	NI	his heel	33
utain	NI	village	10, 15
wa-luskw	NA	polar bear	25
wapuskwekati	NI	hare country	32, 38
wa'sok	NI	heaven	14
wa'so-qanmagan	NI	lamp	13, 20
weč'inon	XP	near	25
weč'u'sok	II	it is windy	33
weč'una-pič'ik	AI	they are seated close together	25
wekal'it	AI	he (dog) barks	33
welak'at'it'it'ik	NI	evening meal	34
wel'ek'iver	AI	he is tipsy, a little drunk	23
wel'ip'at	AI	he sleeps soundly	20
wel'ip'ot	NI	boat	10
wel'ip'at'	II	it is a fine night	22
wel'at'	II	it fits	35
wel'at'at'	II	it is a good slope	20
wel'at'	AI	he is half drunk	19
wel'at'ive'	AI	he jumps	13
wel'at'it'ek	NI	hilly country	20
wel'at'it'ek	NI	house	15, 35
wel'at'it'ek	NI	log cabin	19

weskeweyi	AI	I laugh	39
weskeweyk	AI	he laughs	39
weskituk	II	it is on top	21
wetna:toq	TI	he smells it	22
wetqotk	TI	he stops, hinders, it	22
wicocemusi	NA	cherry tree	21
wi:katikan	NI	book	25, 32, 10
wi:kwaptek	TI	he laughs at it	26
wiglu:kwon	NI	cutting blade	19
wi:oa:toq	TI	he spoils it	15
wi:ndikal	NI	bad spot	35
wi:peti:dik	AI	they sleep together	32
wi:pi:toq	NI	his teeth	32
wiskimann	NI	partridgeberries	20
wiskip	NA	ash	35
wisook	II	it is sour	13, 21, 35
wiyus	NI	meat	13
wokk	NA	pots	25
wokk-wis	NA	fox	26
wokkai	NI	thy foot	18
wokk-wis	NA	thy mother	18
wokk-wis	NA	thy nails	18
wokk-wis	NA	your lips	31
wokk-wis	XP	in the corner	34
wokk-wis	NA	thy dog	18
wokk-wis	XP	inside (the room)	19
wokk-wis	NA	ash tree, willow	18

əl·pa·tu	NA boy	23
əlpa	XP really	23
əlnu	NA Indian	1
əl·tək	II it leads to	19
əl·uwi·kənək	XP seven	38
əl·əmu·č·i·č	NA dog pup	14
ə·nč·i·kič	NI tree stump	19
ə·n·eyk	NI open fields, country	19
ə·pə·wə·m	NI fir tree bark	31
ə·nəp·tə·nə·m	NA thy nostril	21
ə·n·n	NI thy heel	12, 21, 33
ə·s·i·pəl	NA boss	35

